1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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each local group, and indeed each family, was able to provide itself with everything that it needed in the way of weapons and utensils, the exchange of presents did not serve the same purpose as trade and barter in more developed communities.

The purpose that it did serve was a moral one. The object of the exchange was to produce a friendly feeling between the two persons concerned, and unless it did this it failed of its purpose. It gave great scope for the exercise of tact and courtesy. No one was free to refuse a present that was offered to him. Each man and woman tried to out-do the others in generosity. There was a sort of amiable rivalry as to who could give away the greatest number of valuable presents.

The visitors remained with their hosts for a few days. The time was spent in hunting, feasting and dancing, and in the exchange of presents above described. The hosts made every effort to provide the camp with plenty of good things. The guests took their share in the hunting and fishing expeditions. Every evening was spent in singing and dancing. Some of the men were sure to have composed new songs for such an occasion.

Such meetings as these were sometimes the means of bringing to an end past quarrels between the local groups, but occasionally they were the cause of new quarrels. The hosts, or some of them, might think that they had been shabbily treated in the matter of presents, or the guests might complain that they were not well enough entertained. It often needed a man of strong influence to maintain harmony in the camp. Angry words might lead to the rapid breaking up of a meeting, and even result in a feud between the two groups.

Quarrels between individuals, as we have seen, were often taken up by friends on each side. This was particularly the case when the two opponents belonged to different local groups. Before the days of the settlement of the islands there often arose in this way petty quarrels between neighbouring local groups. In some instances there appear to have been feuds of long standing; in others there was a quarrel, a fight or two, and the enemies made peace with one another, until a fresh cause of disagreement should arise.

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524 of their number has to submit to be covered with sand until the head only is visible; fire is then placed near the spot after the custom of their race; for the like reason these sports usually take place near some landmark, such as a conspicuous tree, boulder, or overhanging rock: when the semi-interred child has had enough of it he jumps out and another companion is chosen to take his place.

17. Children may also sometimes be seen diverting themselves by tying a fine string to the leg of a toad or tree-lizard;[1] this cruel sport, unless their elders interfere, is only ended by the death of the unfortunate captive.

18. They are fond of searching for small crabs and fish, and having them cooked for a sham banquet:[2] the earnestness they display in "pretending" on these occasions is irresistibly entertaining, and would be heartily appreciated by European children who have experienced the delight of preparing a "doll's feast."

19. Boys also play at seizing each other under the surface of the water, or amuse themselves with making tiny canoes and floating them towards one another; they are, as I have before mentioned, early provided with miniature bows and arrows, and encouraged to become good marksmen.

535 20. While the foregoing amusements are of frequent occurrence among the juvenile members of a community,[3] the chief
527 diversion of the adults consists in entertainments resembling
574 the Australian "corroboree," when dancing and singing are kept up for many successive hours by moonlight, or by the blaze of the camp fires.

527 21. Any passing event, such as a successful hunt, an unexpected visit from distant relatives or friends, the commence-
574 ment of a new season, the recovery of some member of the community from illness, a marriage, and even the termination of the mourning period,[4] is made the excuse for one of these entertainments.

[627] 22. Besides these smaller festivities, large gatherings of a tribe are also organised from time to time by the head chief, who *generally receives an offer, in the first instance,* from the members of some far-off community to give a *jeg-* at his encampment. As these offers are only made when it is known to be convenient they are always accepted, and invitations for a certain day are at once sent to all living within an easy distance.

[1] This is called *rō·pan lik-lī·rnga-*.

[2] These are called *gab-māk·nga-*.

[3] "Cats' cradle" (called by them *jī·bra-*) is also one of their recognised amusements. [524]

[4] *Vide* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

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23. The intervening days are spent by the proposers of the entertainment in perfecting a song and chorus, which it is intended to perform, and which generally has been composed expressly for the occasion, by some volunteer[1] upon whom also devolves the responsibility of singing the solo and training the so-called chorus. As a considerable amount of distinction among his fellows may be gained by the manner in which he acquits himself in his onerous undertaking, it will be readily understood that the *improvisatore* spares no pains over the preparation and rehearsal of a new song, which, as he fondly hopes, will render his name, if not immortal, at all events famous for many a year. The subject is chosen in reference to some recent personal or tribal exploit or adventure, and is embodied in a distich, followed by a chorus, or rather refrain, which as often as not consists merely in a repetition of the couplet forming the solo; in this refrain women alone are instructed; the main point aimed at is apparently accuracy of time, for, as I have said in my last paper, everything, even sense, is sacrificed in their songs to rhythm.[2]

24. In order to combine pleasure with profit, sundry implements or articles, which are more common in their community than in that of their hosts, are taken by the visitors on these occasions for purposes of presentation, or, to speak more correctly, of barter.

25. It is the duty of the hosts to make all necessary preparations, to provide torches, as well as food and water, for the expected guests, and to sweep the *bū·lum-*,[3] clearing it of all rubbish, lest inconvenience or injury should be occasioned by the stones, shells, bones, &c., which gradually accumulate, in spite of the "kitchen-middens" so invariably found in the vicinity of all permanent encampments of long standing.

26. When nearing the scene of their festivity the visitors pause, for the double purpose of a rehearsal and that the women may have time to adorn the party in their holiday suits of paint, as these would have lost their beauty and freshness if donned previous to leaving home.

27. That a weird and dramatic effect should be produced on a civilised mind by one of these entertainments, especially when occurring at night, will be readily understood if one pictures the scene:—in a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle are gathered a hundred or even more painted

[1] A song that has proved a success at any of these festive tribal meetings is sometimes repeated by "special request" at one of the smaller gatherings; "all rights" in these productions "are reserved," and no one but the composer is at liberty to sing a song, however popular!

[2] *Vide ante* "Language," paragraph 6.

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 11.

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527 574 533 535 savages of both sexes; the moon sheds a soft light on all, while from each hut the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row, are the women who are to join in the refrain; on the other, in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time by clapping their hands or by slapping the hollow between their outstretched legs with their open palms. In a conspicuous position stands the composer and conductor: with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board,[1] and supporting himself on a spear, bow, or pole, he gives the time to the singers and dancers by kicking the board with the sole or heel of the other foot; in this wearying duty he is from time to time relieved by one of his male friends and, occasionally, even by a woman. During the solo, which partakes of the character of a "recitative," all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless, but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men emerge suddenly from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena, perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the volume of sound. Save at the *t'ī-tō·latnga-*,[2] women only occasionally take a share in the dances, but their performances are considered by some foreigners as rather suggestive of impropriety—with what justice I am not prepared to say, for modesty, at least, is satisfied by the wearing of a larger leaf apron than usual.

535 527 28. There is now-a-days[3] but one description of dance in vogue with either sex, but it differs somewhat in the two sexes, and therefore must be dwelt upon briefly.

574 29. A man, when dancing,[4] curves his back, and throws all his weight on one leg, the knee of which is bent; his hands are raised to a level with his chest, and outstretched before him, the thumb of one hand being held between the forefinger and thumb of the other, while the remaining digits are separated and extended upwards;[5] he then advances by sudden jerks and hops

[1] These sounding boards (*pū·kuta-yem·nga-*) somewhat resemble in shape the carapace of a turtle, and might naturally be mistaken by a visitor (*vide* Colebrooke and Mouat) for shields, but I cannot account for Dr. Hodder's description of a "rough *skin* drum" (*vide* "Pall Mall Budget" of 20th April, 1877). See also Appendix B, item 19.

[2] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 7.

[3] From Lieutenant Colebrooke's description of the Andamanese dance of a hundred years ago, it would seem that since that date their style has undergone a great change, for he says they "dance in a ring, each alternately kicking and slapping his own breech *ad lib.*"

[4] *Vide* Plate III, fig. 2.

[5] Sometimes to heighten the effect a bow and arrow are carried in this position.

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535 527 574 taken with the leg on which he is resting, and taps the ground after every second movement with the sole of the other foot; in this manner he crosses and recrosses the entire *bū·lum-*, joining in the chorus as he proceeds, each step being taken in time with the thuds on the sounding-board, and the singing of the refrain. When fatigued, the performer makes a little variation by marking time in a rather odd manner, for the knees are bent, and the *heels* are raised alternately off the ground, the chief point of importance being to maintain the same time throughout.

30. Women, in dancing, swing their arms backwards and forwards; at the same time the knees are bent, and they make a succession of short bobs up and down, in perfect time; every now and then a few steps in advance are taken, and then the action is repeated.

31. To convey an accurate impression of the exact step, or of the effect of the respective performances of the two sexes, is not easy, but I trust that the above descriptions will convey a fair idea of their general character and peculiarities.

533 527 574 32. The alternating of solo and chorus continues for many hours, and generally only ceases with the first faint streaks of dawn, when those of the hosts who have managed to keep awake during the long night revel, lead the visitors to the huts they are to occupy, and then themselves sing and dance as a return compliment.

533 33. To a stranger not gifted with a keen ear for music, there is at first a certain amount of attraction in the oft-repeated cadence, but it must be confessed that, after a residence in the neighbourhood of one of the homes, one learns to wish that their musical performances were characterised by a little more variety, and were rather less protracted, though some compensation may be found at night, as the steady continuance of the monotonous sounds has a most soothing and somniferous effect.

34. It seems hardly necessary to say that all their songs are sung in unison, for they have no idea of choral or part-singing, nor are they able to catch up and repeat an air. They appear, however, able to distinguish between various kinds of music, and especially to appreciate the performances of our regimental bands, but this may perhaps in part be due to the tone of the big drum, which somewhat resembles that produced on their sounding-boards.

35. Dr. Brander gives a specimen of their monotonous chant —the compass of which will be found to include only three notes—in the following stave of our musical notation:—

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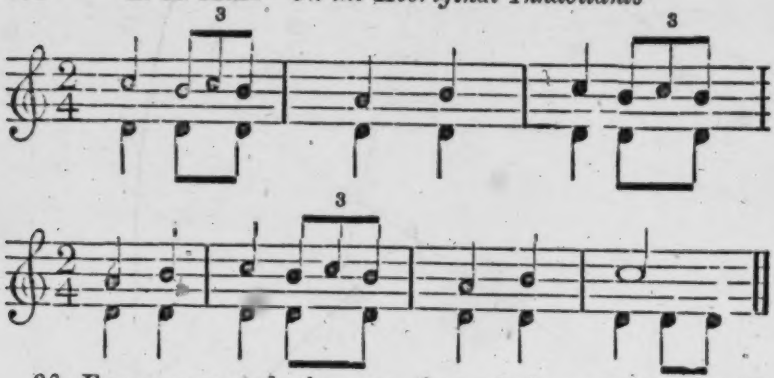

36. Every now and then, as the refrain ends, the soloist cries—

ō·ba eboyū· bē·date,[1] (*a*)

to which the singers respond by shouting—

tēâ·re-â·re-â·reâ,[1] (*b*)

which seems equivalent to *Tra-la-la*, for it has no meaning *per se*.

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37. When the guests have sufficiently rested from their night's exertions, they visit their special friends or relatives, and, if within the prescribed limits of affinity,[2] indulge[3] in weeping together;[4] these visits are usually followed by an interchange of gifts, the hosts taking the initiative, and a *fracas* not unfrequently ensues, for donor and recipient are not always of a mind as to the respective values of their "presents." Should all, however, pass off smoothly, the assemblage breaks up into various small parties for hunting or fishing, according to the situation of the encampment.

[1] These are styled respectively the (*a*) *àrbē·datnga-*, and the (*b*) *á-rē·ângà-* or *àryá·nanga*.

Further, in reference to their musical abilities, I would here quote from a friend, who at my request had kindly consented to test the powers of the aborigines in this particular, as I unfortunately am not qualified to do so myself:—

"I examined five women, seven men, and three young boys as to their musical abilities, and as far as I could judge, they have not the remotest idea of pitch or tune, even the chorus of their own song, *chēklū yá· lak·u mējrà?* started by *.bó·ra-qud*, was taken up in several keys, and it was difficult to distinguish the original. I tried all the voices separately; it seemed quite accidental if they pitched on the keynote, but as for leaving it when once got hold of to go up and down the scale they *would* not! so that it was impossible for me to ascertain either the quality or the register of the voices. The boys were, if anything, a shade the best; . . . a lot of drilling may beat a few notes into their heads."

[2] *Vide ante* "Customs, Meeting and Parting," paragraph 2.

[3] "The Sandwich Islanders recognise tears as a sign of happiness" (Lubbock, p. 552).

[4] No greetings take place on these occasions between the performers and their hosts until after the entertainment (which often lasts many hours) is over.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

thought they were weeds and pulled them up. I never managed to see the plant in flower in the wild state, as this occurs at the height of the rainy season, and as no final definition is possible in the absence of the flower it remains unidentified.

The Onges take full advantage of the plant's properties as a bee-deterrent and in mid-March they eat honey, paint themselves, and dance, twenty-four hours a day. During these orgies I have seen a group of about sixty Onges demolish in a few days ten pigs and a dozen large, wooden vessels full of honey, with basket after basket of fish, caught every night by the women, who were apparently not in the least tired by the long daily treks into the forest after the honey. I can never look back on the Onges without a feeling of profound respect for their powers of digestion!

Yet another source of food for the islanders is the cicada. On Little Andaman there are a few species a little larger than the European variety and others rather smaller. The Onges collect the pupae as they emerge from the ground, usually in the mornings, and roast them as a great treat. They are actually very clean insects, which develop slowly under the earth over a period of years sucking lymph from the roots of the trees. When they emerge from the ground the pupae become leathery, but this presents no problem to the indomitable teeth of the Onges. Inside the cicada chrysalids are a mass of delicate tissues, so white and clean that one can understand the Onges' predilection for them.

On Little Andaman the cicadas chirp intermittently, with long silences; most of the day one hears nothing of them and when they suddenly start up the Onges fall absolutely quiet, terrified of frightening them away and losing their chrysalids.[1] In a few moments the whole forest suddenly echoes with a chorus of cicadas, as they all start up as one and then, a minute later, fall silent. Their intermittent chirping is not confined to the Andamans; it is a feature of several species throughout southern Asia. At Golpahar when I was in the middle of the forest excavating kitchen-middens I heard cicadas start up every day at 6.30 p.m., and then stop until the following day. In the mountains of South India, on the slopes

[1] The Onges do not seem to share the superstitions reported by Man and Brown among the Arioto, who appear to believe in fantastic connections between cicadas, the sun, and storms.